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6.5(1

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[illegible] 3-6]

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[illegible] 3(c)3

2[0] ware. This section describes the methods of securing the principal raw materials—berries, fruits, leaves, wood, grass, fish, fuel and garden produce.

2[0.2] Collecting. Berries, roots, spruce fronds, spruce gum, and eggs are collected. In summer
2[0.3] the tops of the wild worm plant may be picked for use in soup, and a parsnip-like rather a sometimes dug. Most berry picking occurs in late summer, but girls may still pick a few high bush cranberries which retains the edible fruit in early winter. When women and [0.3] girls return to camp with berries, they may offer a share to women who did not participate in the picking. Men will often stop while traveling to pick from an abundant supply of blueberries or low bush cranberries.

When a pullet from the ground and piled in a small piece of canvas which is folded to gather the transportation. In winter the women scrape away the snow with her hands or snowshoes and use an ax to chop out a frozen core of snow. After the snow is dried out in a sack or pail children's diapers dislike. When used as daily big sifting, snow is not dried. Spruce fronds for use as a soup base is cut by the women. A number of small trees may be dragged into camp and then trimmed. When easily, a limb break is obtained by cutting [0.4] across the lower branches of a standing tree. Spruce gum is packed off a red spruce tree in the course of recording and chewed immediately. In June or July a hunter occasionally finds the eggs of spruce hens or willow grouse. The eggs are gently shaken or rapped to ascertain if there is a young bird inside; should this be the case, they are said to be unusable or the nest.

2[0.5] Water is obtained from rivers, streams, and lakes in one or two quart covered cooking vessels by the women. In winter the ice of the river is chopped through and the water is then scooped into a day or else the hole will soon freeze over again. Some may be melted in seven vessel. Stagnant marsh water is avoided whenever a better source of running water is not too far distant.

2[0] Collecting wood for fuel is time consuming in the winter season. An open camp fire in summer or fall requires relatively little effort as far as fuel gathering is concerned. When families rise all sunlight is gotten a large enough supply of poles to keep the fire going until bedtime. In winter, gathering fuel for an open fire is more laborious, since enough wood has to be collected to provide heat all morning. Though the women spruce wood used a smoking tube, it is chiefly the men's task to bring wood into camp. In practice, however, women and [0.6] girls assist. Keeping a warm going in winter requires a wood fuel that it is not possible to rely on the supply of dead wood lying around a settlement. Therefore, in order to insure an adequate winter wood supply for a settlement, sufficient area must be kept free of snow in advance. Two methods are used for drying wood, burning and girdling. In the former procedure, small trees of timber are fired when the wood is right. The fire kills the wood and in a few or so the wood is dry enough for fuel. Green alive and spruce trees, from six to twenty inches in diameter, are girdled. This process will dry a tree in about one week. Subjects a sometimes dried by felling a number of trees, chopping off the limbs, and then stacking the poles upright against a clump of willows to dry. In about three years the wood will be thoroughly dry, although half dry poplars is said to burn fast and quite poplars is favored in winters. A sufficient amount of wood is easily cut in two days time a short time. Each spring there is usually a severe shortage of wood, and any deadwood lying around the settlement, including discarded snowshoes, is utilized for fuel.

[illegible] by

[illegible] have not seen, although it is also arranged by any girl old enough to handle a gun.

Porcupine are either shot or clubbed to death. Looking a gun, Dickens Donnelly once used down a porcupine on which she had seen a porcupine resting. As the one fell and the animal began to waddle off, Dickens rose to a crouch and clubbed it with the back of her axe. After a porcupine is killed the hunter holds a fire and burns off the quills. The animal is then held on a carpet of brush for butchering. A cut is then made on the ventral surface of the body, extending from the neck to the anus. The stomach and intestines immediately fall from the body cavity. The small intestine is carefully cut free, in order to preserve its fatness of fat. This organ resembles a string of link sausage, and is enjoyed by being grabbed downward from the intestine of each link. The liver, liver, and kidneys are left in the carcass, which is packed back in camp with the small gun.

The flesh and game are boiled in spring and fall, and the spruce hen and willow grouse throughout the year. Chicken hunting, like rabbit hunting, is generally exercised by the small fur seen but girls frequently kill them birds while working in the family's edible fish. Generally the birds are plucked immediately after being killed, when the feathers are easy to remove. Success in hunting chicken depends largely on encountering a sizeable flock of feeding birds. A man may also return to a spot where he killed several species here to shoot them which escaped but which remained in the neighborhood. With fish forming him, a hunter with inexperience misses from a feeding way with six to nine birds. When a man's bag is so large as this, he may send some of his catch to other families in camp.

When hiking is done in lake and rivers before the formation of ice. The commonest fish caught for food are the grayling, river trout, and pickfish. Fishing trips are undertaken by a dozen the fresh fish or a change from meat, or by the necessity of securing something food the dogs. Fishing is done with a hooked or fly hook and with nets. In the fall, when fish ascend rivers in spawns, a net may be strung in the narrows in such a place. Nets are hung with floats about eight inches long and four inches in diameter, prepared from spruce wood. The sinkers about nine inches wide and about inches long are attached the stations. The sinkers are tied to the lower end of the net in one inch intervals. Fish line is used for this purpose, the rock being secured to a running sinker and the upper end of the line fastened to the net with a double overhand knot. Several feet of specific rope are added to each end of the net and secured as above to a piece of fish wood or an overhanging willow. Sometimes fish are driven out of a slough into a net for shooting. No one creates standing around excited grayling and trout in the willows. When several boats will be required to transport fish to camp, they are often grabbed in the fishing site. If fish are to be stored only a short distance, they are strung through the mouth and gills on a thin willow stick, the ends of which are then crossed together. When many more or less may fish dries. Generally men only are busy, but others are easy as a fish net. In the fall, a whole family sometimes spends several miles in a fairly fishing spot and spends the two days setting fresh caught fish. Often a family or two men will stand up in line a dozen miles to a fish lake, camping there for several days to a week and accumulating a dozen or more large pickfish and like trout.

Only the rabbit is trapped exclusively for food, owning and netting other species being

[illegible]

by [redacted]

[redacted] o the mashing was a material a.s. Apple of about three inches one a spare provided at the lower end of the frame. The upper end of the holder a thin bevel back and a approaches the deepest section of the centre of the frame. It is now bolted to the upper end of the pe- previous with rope while a second and third piece of leather are similarly inserted and here. When all the wood is in here a is the opposition, the pieces are simultaneously further here against the curved surface of the frame, being forced as far back as possible (Fi. 4, d). To prevent the wood from splitting during this process, about a quarter of an inch thick and three inches wide, are pulled across the piece of leather, the ends extending into the bending apparatus. When the leather has been forced back as far as possible it is firmly tubed in a position and left so dry.

The wood for assembles frames is here by hand. Taking the thinnest pieces of the wood, which will be the lines of the assemblies, the maker puts a scribe his foot and gradually bends the ram of the pole symmetric. It needs a no shave half as work from the front and but no other selection a holes are cut at this time. It rage or piece of bobbin is then trimmed from the top to a point. Further back on the head and a pulled was enough to re- turn the desired bend. When both pieces of a are here have been done are roughly bolted together to the lines of the finished assemblies. A block of wood takes the place of the wood in keeping the rims a proper distance apart and also helps to bend the rims further. The whole thus a then pressed with a [redacted] (Fi. 5), a and about to the research of a valve.

Which were an assemblies allowed to dry before being worked was further, is the use- ancestors of tetragons and assemblies, leather is dried after it has been worked and here. Pricing is generally here is a house or two, where there is a stove, and also here there are a trials. Although it is recognised that long runs are drying is superior to quick artificial drying, on many rims observed in which objects had been made in the spring or summer and allowed to dry outdoors were found.

[redacted] Woodworking with an ordinary handsaw or pattern build, a.s. millwaya used a rubbing [redacted] rims, driving spoons, trigger mortis and other implements. Whilst serving a there by were the leather forming the build seemed beneath a by mostly.

[redacted] Cordage. Although rods are indispensable the passing wood is constructing, raffles, knocks and other large objects, has a which supplement a.s. covers of cocoa-nut cocoa- fortunes. The principal cocoa from manufactured by the people are are from cocoa-nut and wild kernel cocoa, or cocoa-fibre, an wrapped from cocoa and cocoa cocoa. Very few fully cocoa-nut are prepared for cutting a piece of soft bark are a continuous strip up in a soft rock a cocoa. When being used a wet piece of wood are the a rugged fasteners by hands to secure a.

Sometimes the, cocoa-nut leaves a bobbin, a.s. are from cocoa or cocoa-bark from which of the bat and that has been shaved and which has been soaked a cocoa or yellow. Occasionally bobbin a much stronger than the cocoa from cocoa-nut. The pieces of bark selected generally consist of the five outer ridge sheets, a cocoa from the also used for bobbin as the running fibres, here professional finding the running pieces from long a sheet are cocoa cocoa and the length of two of the cocoa-nut assemblies. From this is seven feet long. The rang a.s are cocoa from the cocoa-nut bark and cocoa a.s bobbin and a a soft and pliable. To use the rang are the, the makers are themselves

[illegible]

[illegible] thumb, pulled free, and set aside. When these have assembled, the worker using the fingernails picks strands away from the thick and then strips them free. The continues until the entire thick has been separated into individual strands of fiber. Each of these strands is now placed on the worker's knee and rotated. This is done by positioning the tips of the fingertips with palms and using them to roll the strand toward the body of the worker. The ends of each strand are then rotated by rolling them between the [illegible] thumb and index finger. The strands are preserved for sewing purposes and [illegible] for weavers. In addition to warm clothes, people are seen with hats, sewing thread, fishing nets, and headband support while the sewing and [illegible].

[illegible] The principal basic stitch are straight ones and include the single and double overhand, the "stitcher" or crossing stitch, the slip stitch, and the weaver's back or short hand. The crossing stitch is used to fasten seams, start or enlarge, or a fish net. The slip stitch is widely used where a hook is required which can readily be opened. It is employed, for example, on all nets open or give grains or in fixing on flags of hook. The three fingers is used a seven time ends of line and in the employment to fasten a length of line to the center of a net (Fig. 1, d). The gate handle of an on a seamless tripod together with tubular applied on a machine or hammock hitch (Fig. 1, e). When a [illegible] or frame also a ballast or a stretcher is often secured to the beginning with a [illegible] or even hitch. This then is the [illegible] used in beginning the filling of the entire panel of [illegible]. Where one [illegible] a meshes two from every, making a two strand panel handling which is used to hold splices around the [illegible].

[illegible] Obviously, The types of [illegible] may be distinguished: the [illegible] and [illegible] of the two designed for [illegible], and the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and is [illegible] [illegible].

The [illegible] [illegible], which are [illegible] in [illegible], are usually [illegible] [illegible] many [illegible] [illegible]. In [illegible] a small [illegible] such as a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a [illegible], the [illegible] is placed on the [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. With a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], a net is made at the [illegible] of one of the [illegible] [illegible] through the [illegible] to [illegible]. The [illegible] is [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible], and is the [illegible] at the [illegible] [illegible] of the other [illegible]. In [illegible] this [illegible], one [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible] through the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], is the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]. When the [illegible] is [illegible] the [illegible] is [illegible] to [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] between the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. The [illegible] is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. When [illegible] is [illegible] the [illegible] is [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the heavy roof. The first, or auxiliary, pair of ridge poles is put in position after the last log has been laid along the length of the building and runs [illegible] long the width. This width log, as well as all subsequent ones added above it, is not more narrowly than the underlying logs. Two ridge poles, as well as the center ridge log, project about two feet in front of the building and thus provide support for the forward eaves. The width logs, on which the first pair of ridge poles is laid, project about three or four feet on the outside of the building. On these projections are placed two lengthwise running logs used as braces to support the roof poles and the packed dirt, which is generally used for roofing. In the older type of log cabin this point of construction is somewhat complex and is illustrated in Figure 9, a.

When the central ridge pole is in position, the roofing is begun. Where lumber is not available, poles, five or six inches in diameter, are leaned on what will constitute the exterior face and are close together on the ridge poles. The bottom ends of these roof poles rest on the brace logs previously described and illustrated. Sometimes split poles are used in roofing. Harry Long's cabin contains forty-five logs, or a total of ninety split poles. The old type cabin illustrated, contains sixty-eight uneven poles, 6'3" long, lightly leaned on their inner face. A square hole is left to accommodate the stovepipe, and the roof is then covered with straw. Dirt, to a depth of about six inches, is then piled on the straw and packed firm. Instead of a pole and dirt roof, a piece of eight ounce canvas is sometimes used for roofing. If a sufficient number is used for the roof, it is covered with a double layer of roofing paper. Older cabins may be floored with split and leveled poles. Today floors of well sawed lumber are the rule. Log cabins are usually floorless, the ground being covered with spruce brush.

Cabins are chinked after construction is completed. Chinking consists of moss or sod applied from the outside of the building, while on the interior the spaces between the poles are stuffed with moss, old clothing, or newspaper. On both the interior and exterior walls, wide gaps between the logs are sometimes chinked with thin spruce saplings nailed in place. To add further protection from wind and drafts, wrapping paper and cardboard are nailed against the inside walls. Windows are all purchased readymade at Lower Post and were painted to the settlements. A home cabin can be completed in about ten days, if men or their wives are available for the work. A smaller log cabin can be built in two or three days by two men. Homebuilding is always done by men.

Assistance generally forms a house or an open camp. On the other hand, some older people are reluctant to move into a house before the weather turns really cold; later, when material is ready to a tent as long as possible and one finds himself up "like a bear."

Only rarely are cabins dismantled and moved to a new site. Occasionally cabins, which have not been kept in good repair, are wrecked after a new cabin has been constructed.

The completion of a new house is sometimes marked by a drinking party. In Lower Post, Rivers Joe celebrated the completion of his house with a dance. Men who built cabins expressed strong pride in their achievements. Nick Long, who was building a large house in Lower Post told the writer, "Blow new penny bank, new nine, by God, easy!"

Furnishings. A typical example of furniture is found in cabins and houses, few in most homes. A few stoves or furniture other than a stove is unique.

Some cabins and most homes may contain a table, simple benches, and sometimes a

1: Montgomery B-6 (1963-1965) 1969 MD12 Malone MD12

bark, bundles o stalk stems and an occasional banana. In Lower Pum, houses often contain single cots acquired from construction camps along the Alaska Highway. In town one finds in each settlement usually some o radio which is not, however, always in working order. Shelves consist of wooden packing boxes nailed with their backs to the log walls. Food, clothing, and other equipment is piled on the floor, stored under beds, or suspended from poles stretching across the width of a cabin.

Away from Lower Pum practically all furniture is locally manufactured out of hand hewned poplar or whipsawed spruce. Bunkbeds benches, spruce tree sections, two or three inches in diameter and eighteen inches high, also serve as seats.

A cabin or camp often presents an untidy picture of a great many articles stored in any available space. Old Kane's own home presented an extreme picture of disorder. Here the cabins were littered with tins of jam, butter, syrup, half used packages of concentrate, and other food left over from several meals. Food was stored under the tables and even in the crotch of the beam. The bunks were piled with guns, clothing, ropes, and miscellaneous objects.

Grubb has described the interior and furnishings of one of the older cabins in Lower Pum (perhaps Mrs. Dickson's home) as he saw it during April 1915. " . . . we go into one of the cabins, managing to pass the low doorway and accustoming our eyes to the dim light. Beyond a bed in one corner and a stove in another there a table in the place. The woman sewing on the bed regards us questioningly, but the eyes of the boy beside her are bright and full of curiosity. Two men are here over some pelts laid out on the floor, stained and torn. Pushing aside them when the trapping was like that winter and one of them replies hospitably, "Ha-ghaah Tsa-nahh."

In summer, bedding consists of a single sleeping bag or a pair of heavy woolen blankets. In winter a second sleeping bag may be used or additional blankets. Beds are sometimes covered with dry grass. Some families have acquired single iron camp mattresses from construction camps in Dawkins, where people sleep on the ground in winter or rarely, the bed dog is rolled into a huge ball and stored in the rear of the dwelling where it becomes a bedwarmer for the occupants.

In winter, spruce brush is laid in front of the entrance to a cabin or tent frame, or a low log or thereby immediately inside the door of a house. Here a person occupies the space from his mocassins before the warmth of the building covers the clothing worn to ward off the freezing.

Cabins with floors are swept every day or so with a broom. Tent floors of brush are [illegible] and further cabins about once every two weeks, the old branches being discarded. Every fall cabins are reinforced where necessary and additional mud may be piled on the shallow eaves of a dirt roof. Heavy snow is removed from the roof of a cabin and from the tops of tents. Chopping and sledding are done by women, while a man keeps the roof in repair. If tents have an otherwise become damaged, a woman takes down the shelter and sews a new piece of canvas into the damaged area.

Most are household goods. Dwellings often contain accessories, most of which are of native manufacture. To make a mortaring, a man takes a piece of wood, fifteen inches long,

[illegible]

dog's neck and one to the corresponding rail on the opposite pedoi. The rear two passing under the animal's belly and a second to the rail on the opposite side. When dog packs are used in mountain trail areas, they may be fitted with an additional piece of canvas to shield each of the flanks. The harnesses of packs are padded with canvas or natural materials, where they become worn. Dog packs are manufactured by women. Dogs can pack up to forty or fifty pounds, but loads are generally limited to about thirty-five pounds for a stretch of twenty miles. Among the Upper Lower Indians, women and girls were always used to pack dogs [Fr. 1, c]. A Nicken Indian reported that among his people men pack horses as well as dogs. Men everywhere, of course, pack dogs when traveling without families.

When transporting goods by dogs in summer, one or more persons generally start out ahead of the animals. Moreover, the dogs may be guided by chains used about a quarter of a mile from camp. The chores of eager barking that arises from a camp, when dogs scent or go more of their companions being packed, is evidence of their eagerness to travel. In winter, dogs follow in the rear of people with snowshoes who break the trail. Traveling in winter, especially over crusted snow, often cuts a dog's feet. When this happens, and snow can always be [illegible] by cutting a little brush which is thrown over the animal to cover it.

The Kaska use both toboggans and sleighs. The toboggan is regarded as best suited for travel in the soft dry snow of winter. Although a sleigh is sometimes used in midwinter, it is recognized as being particularly adapted for traveling on the top of the crusted snow in late winter and early spring.

Toboggans are either purchased from traders or manufactured locally. The description of farming and bending wood for toboggans has already been presented. The vehicle is usually constructed with three or four pieces of freshly bowed birch pieces, about twelve feet long, six inches wide, and three sixteenths of an inch thick, but the toboggan whose construction was observed and is here reported [illegible] three of these specifications.[1]

After the last two feet of the boards have been bent to produce a curve, they are removed from the bending frame. The slats, which hold the boards together in the bending process, are left in place until all of the crosspieces have been put in position. The remaining ends of the two outside boards of the vehicle are first placed where they have been bent. The piercing exposes the front of the vehicle, the outward ones curving the inward of turning under and around a rail. Each boards ends easily between the wood, permitting of the toboggan's traveling equally in cold weather. The next step is to substitute crosspieces for the temporary slats. All of these crosspieces are manufactured of slightly dried birch. On the inner and outer surfaces of the extreme forward portion of the toboggan, two crosspieces are nailed. There are about three inches wide and three quarters of an inch thick [Fig. 1, c]. All of the exterior edges of these crosspieces are furnished with a knife, the furnished surface being about one eighth of an inch wide. After the pieces have been put in position, the front of the toboggan is crossed with a cut and placed to insure a smooth and even surface. The second crosspiece is [illegible] [illegible], consisting of a

[1] The toboggan was sent to New Canada where [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

gather the rubble he worked carefully, but inevitably sections smashed. Several times the [illegible] partially dried wood and the snapping split when pulled in place. There did not go out of [illegible] his way to modify these damages. In other words, he avoided any evidence of a more compact [illegible] production. He was always aware of the limits of the material which he was using but was [illegible] not well satisfied with the finished product. About half-way through the construction [illegible] process, there appeared the desire for sufficient skins with which to buy a considerably [illegible] more substantial toboggan during the Christmas visit to Lower Post.[1]

Toboggans are built by men. When carrying a passenger, this vehicle is guided by [illegible] handlebars. The construction of these was not observed. Their principal feature is a pair of [illegible] curved wooden handles secured together with crosspieces and lashed to the toboggan. The [illegible] handlebars are placed about one inch-and-a-half from the rear of the vehicle, leaving a small space in which a man can stand. The partially enclosed section was seven feet in the Kaska area.

From three to six dogs are used to draw a toboggan. Dogs are hitched one behind the other, one dog being consistently employed as a leader. The favorite type of harness is an open mesh web, indirectly, would say to adapted to the wooded hunting country of the area. Dog harness is made by weaving from one and a half inch canvas webbing and includes a collar made of tanned moosehide stuffed with moose hair and sewn with babiche. The traces are secured to the collar, which is sewn along, commencing two or three small dogs hide, a band around the dog's back to keep the harness in place. The harness of each dog behind the leader a band with steel rings which are attached to inch long steel snap fasteners at the end of the traces. These fasteners are also used to harness the last dog to the lashing of the toboggan.

A man generally packs the toboggan but may be assisted by his wife. The harness load is placed in the rear of the vehicle. The goods are set on the floor loosely, cooking pots and frying pans being placed on top of the main load. The outfit is then covered with a large canvas tarp which is tied down to the toboggan's lashing with several pieces of smoke rope. The rope is then secured to the lashing with an ornamental knot. Passing across the top of the load it loops under the lashing on the opposite side of the vehicle and is pulled tight before being drawn back to the first side. This process continues to the end of the cordage which is then tied to the lashing with a single ornamental knot. A spare piece of cordage is often used the lining commenced. Use an canvas cover is also lashed down in this fashion. [illegible] A rack for caught according is placed in a packsack, which is tied between the handlebars [illegible] when not appearing it is set. When children or women ride on the toboggan, they are [illegible] seated on their dark looks and against the handlebar cross pieces. Folded blankets are placed on by their hands, as protections stepping with a ground on top of them and a throw lightly around the person's body so that it covers the head like a hood. This serves to keep off [illegible] biting snow. The cordage is then lashed to the handlebars and to the side lashing. When the vehicle temporarily leaves this station, the blankets are immediately placed in order to prevent the [illegible] dogs chewing them to pieces. When the toboggan is packed, the lead [illegible] dog is [illegible] with or a younger dog between the dogs in the vehicle.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1: Honigmann, E-6 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Specialization

The unimportance of formal social organization in Kaska society is correlated with a limited development of occupational specialization. Those specialists are of little importance, many men's and women's tasks are freely interchangeable, while age governs occupation

Table 11. Sexual Division of Labor in Representative Occupations

Occupation	Normally Done By Men	Normally Done by Women	Frequently Done by Opposite Sex	Normally Done by Either Sex
Collecting				
Cooking meat				
Cooking roots				
Making snare wood				
Skinning				
Trapping				
Skinning large fauna				
Skinning small fauna				
Smoking				
Splitting				
Care of dogs				
Gardening				
Woodcutting				
Cooking outside				
Meat canning				
Commercial skin stretching				
Carving furniture				
Making fire				
Tool making				
House building				
Meat drying				
Making rope				
Cooking				
Making bows				
Making clothes				
Washing clothes				
Making fish				
Making bark				
Hunting policing				
Making ship				
Making snowshoes				
Making moccasins				
Managing childcare in dail				
Managing farm				
Medical care				
Care of children				
Preparation of corpse				
Genealogies				

I: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

463 only insofar as it allows strength or capacity. Regional specialization is completely lacking.

In the absence of any professional occupations—there being no people who wholly devote themselves to such activities as carpentering, tanning, or hunting—only a limited amount of individual specialization may be noted. Some men are regarded as excelling in the manufacture of boats, snowshoes, or in carpentering while certain women are well known for their skill in sewing and cooking. Such professionals are occasionally approached for assistance in carrying out a task like boat building and are paid for their work. In general, however, such services are rarely requested.

• 462 A summary of the division of labor is presented in Table 11. It must be pointed out that this tabulation is based on modified behavior which, in some cases, differs from the ideals of the society. For example, Louis Mitia reported that a man's job is to get wood, brush, and water for the camp while the women lay the brush and does the cooking. Actually few if any men haul water, some get brush, but some do haul heavy wood.

Table 11 shows that out of thirty-eight representative occupations, eight are normally performed by either sex and at least thirteen additional ones are frequently done by both sexes. Five tasks can be rigidly allocated to either men or women. Although certain occupations ascribed to men are not normally done by women, women can in an emergency fulfill these tasks. Such work includes big game hunting, cutting trees, and even building log frames. Men can, in an emergency, cure tan skin, make babiche, work or repair clothes, sew moccasins, and fill snowshoes. In general, however, men do not like to perform women's duties.

561 No occupations are clearly demarcated by age categories, ability rather than age determining when tasks may be performed. Children, particularly girls above the age of six or seven, perform such household duties as getting wood and water, making fire, tending rabbit snares, sewing, and washing clothes. Girls from about eleven years of age assist in such heavier or more complex female activities as tanning skin, making camp, laying snowshoes, or preparing carcass. Mission girls and women, however, take the executive role in carrying out these activities. Boys from fifteen years commonly engage in male allocated tasks like cutting trees, hewing, woodworking, trapping, and hunting, but if they are below that age little more than occasional assistance in these tasks is expected of them. No allowance are given to old age. An old person keeps performing his customary duties until the nature of the work exceeds his physical powers. As a matter of fact it is this dwindling ability, rather than accumulated years, which defines old age.[1]

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

571 Related to what has already been said of the relatively slight importance of social organization in Kaska society is the fact that interpersonal relations are primarily restricted within the family during six or seven months of the year. Visits between women evidently relieve this pattern somewhat, but it is mainly during trading visits to Lower Post that such interpersonal relations involve larger segments of the society. The highest degree of social interaction occurs during the summer, when members of the several tribes make their residence in that town.

[1] See below pp. 198-200.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1945-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

All of these conflicts lead to anxiety and derived hostility, which further threaten the self-assertion as well as defensive motivations. These conflicts find expression in the ambivalence characterizing the emotional relations of men and women in Kaska society. Illustrations of this ambivalence will now be studied as it manifests itself in male feelings of superiority, men's and women's attitudes toward marriage, in folklore, and in men's unconscious use of sex for aggression. Because of closer work with men, it is inevitable that the illustrations should primarily reflect male ambivalence to women; on the other hand, it is also possible that a woman's frustrations, because of her greater opportunity to relax from self-assertion, her early training in passivity, and her cross-sexed identification with her father in childhood, are less strong than a man's.

Male feelings of superiority to women are expressed when men generalize from their important economic roles on the one hand to a notion of generally superior status. They are also revealed in Old Man's defensive claim that men can, if necessary, do many feminine tasks, like caring for children, making baskets, laying snowshoes, and cutting moccasins. On another occasion, however, Old Man reported that such tasks were only regretfully performed by men and their necessity considered a hardship. River Jim, too, often complained about a man's difficulties when he lacked a woman to cook and care for the camp. We therefore conclude that Old Man's statement of male self-sufficiency has little basis in manifest behavior and is an expression of male superiority. It represents an attempt to deny the anxiety provoked by dependence on his wife.

Both sexes reveal conscious reluctance to marriage. In men, holding back is defended on grounds of sexual freedom, while in women it is externalized as a fear of being economically frustrated or physically overworked. Avoidance of marriage may be interpreted both as a fear of the strong emotions that the bond develops and of the dependency which it involves. The period of premarital promiscuity, as we shall see, affords abundant opportunity to satisfy sexuality without too seriously threatening emotional isolation. Furthermore, sex in this period offers full opportunity to express self-assertion, while marriage, with its burdens of economic responsibilities and child care, threatens to vex that motivation in both sexes.

The expression of sexual ambivalence in folklore is illustrated in the story of "The Blind Old Man," selected by Old Man to subordinate the anxiety and hostility engendered by his growing dependency.* The theme of the tale, an old man deceived by his wife,who withholds food, strongly suggests the husband-wife relationship to be marked by distrust and ambivalence. That the woman is able to deceive her husband, shows her to be perceived in a position of superiority and power, which throws light on the man's intense and conflicted emotional dependence. A second tale reveals a similar theme.

THE GIRL WHO TURNED INTO AN OWL

Two brothers shared a wife and lived with their mother-in-law. One day the girl climbed a tree to reach an owl's nest and was turned into an owl. Her clothes drifted down to her mother, who donned them and returned to camp pretending to be the young wife. She placed a roll of blankets in her camp to simulate an old woman asleep. When the boys came home the women fed them, but as she had no teeth she could only eat soups. To give the sound of chewing, the pre-

* See the discussion of Old Man's personality below, pp. [illegible].

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nelson ND12

Upper Liard
Dease River

In winter weather but for a week during winter. Summer babiche broke easily in comparison to the winter variety. Cold weather drying also rendered the line softer and more flexible. Stretching frames for drying babiche were not generally used, although for heavy drying such line might be wrapped around a snowshoe. From fully tanned and smoked hide came smoked-skin line, of whose manufacture little need be said. Men collected the roots for spruce-root cordage but all subsequent stages of manufacture were carried out by women who scraped the roots with a stone knife and then boiled them for about half an hour. The worker then split such root, smaller ones being split only once but very thick roots four times. Occasionally spruce roots were braided. This line kept best when loosely hung up and tended to spoil if wound tightly. When spruce roots became hard and dry, they could be softened with grease but urine was never used for this purpose. Whale willow line, made in emergencies to pack roots, consisted of a long willow branch softened by heating over fire and then twisted until the fibers had been well broken. Willow bark line found a host of uses and yielded material for fish nets. Willow roots, collected by men, were softened through an hour's boiling, split, and then used for cordage. To manufacture green line women gathered the high sedge growing along lake shores. Bundled into sheaves for transportation back to camp, the material had to be fabricated quickly before it dried. Twisting converted the green into line that remained useful for only a short period of time. When confronted with the information that the Tahltan had woven goat's wool into blankets our informant (D) opined that the Kaska must have done the same thing.[1] Among the Inkara community applied to the foregoing types of cordage are the running noose, bowline, and overhand. Two ends of babiche were spliced by means of a short braid.

Dease River Kaska. Stone tools constituted the basic equipment in the Dease River area. A flintlike stone as well as obsidian provided materials for blades which were then hafted in handles of horn or spruce and birch wood. Sinew or babiche line secured the hafting. To prevent blades men or women manufactured scabbards from smoked caribou hide. The container attached under the outer belt of a person's garments. Although a woman had her own knife its form did not differ from the man's and the objects were designated by a common term. Before beginning to chip stone a man might swing a bullroarer while repeating the song, "thunder, thunder." The charm caused his magical power to aid him in the work.

Concerning work in clay, we found it impossible to check the testimony of our informant (E) that vessels used to be shaped from this substance and hardened by firing.

The caribou or goat's horn adze served as a basic tool for woodworking and stone axes were denied. Men split logs with wooden wedges and used spruce hooking tools to assist them in peeling spruce bark.

Bone constituted an important material for knife blades, the material being "scraped" to an edge and hafted in a horn or wooden handle. Women used skin fleshers derived from the leg bone of the caribou as well as obsidian scrapers for removing the hair of a hide. Sewing needles of fish bone are said to have been of recent introduction, supplanting bone awls. Unpossessed moose hoofs provided an ice chisel as well as material for

[1] Teit, *The Tahltan Indians*, p. 468.

6: Honigmann Σ-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

blueberry. Other vegetable products taken from the land included fern roots in spring; 222
lily bulbs; mushrooms, frequently stolen from a squirrel's cache; muskeg apples, that 824
grew up in the mountains and were described as tasting somewhat like turnips; wild 262
onions, of which only the greens were eaten; rose petals, made into a beverage by boil-
ing; and wild rhubarb. Both sexes chewed gum taken from a "half dead" spruce tree,
a choice advised by the fact that such gum would not stick to the teeth. Jack pine and
spruce fibers were also eaten but mud, birch fiber, willow buds, wild rice, and wild peas
held no place in the diet. Birch sap, obtained by tapping the birch in spring, ranked as [314]
a minor delicacy but people ignored poplar sap. Children kept the camp supplied with
water, securing it from the river or in the form of snow. Warmed moose milk was some-
times drunk.

Flesh food could be secured with the least expenditure of energy by setting traps, 224
including snares, deadfalls, nets, and, perhaps, pitfalls. For bear the Indian located a
snare made of braided babiche (as many as eight strands of semi-tanned skin line might
be used) near a berry patch, while for moose and caribou he placed similar snares be-
tween trees and across the runways which these animals had made in the course of
visiting drinking places and salt licks. Fences were sometimes extended from either
side of a moose or caribou snare. At other times trappers thrust two forked poles into
the ground and across them suspended a toggle pole twelve feet long and three inches
in diameter. From the toggle hung 6 caribou snare while on either side a fence directed
the animal into the trap. Men always set moose and caribou snares. "Even if a woman [462]•
knew how to make a caribou snare she could not make it good enough." For lynx a
semicircle of poles with a center opening for the snare was anchored in the ground. A
single strand of babiche had sufficient strength to hold this animal. Such snares might
be erected by women. In mountain gulches through which ran sheep trails men erected
fine toggle snares for sheep. Often the poles used in this work had to be packed long
distances above timberline. Up to six strands of babiche were twisted together to make
a snare line strong enough for that animal. For beaver, men (and also women) set snares
of three-strand twisted babiche near a dam.

Ground hog snares featured a rock toggle and required two-strand twisted babiche. 224
The family provided itself with a number of six- or seven-foot long forked poles in the 401
fall and packed them above the timberline. The trapper firmly planted one such pole
for each snare in a rock cairn near a ground hog den. On either side of the pole ran a
small fence about a foot high. After forming the snare loop between these fences, the
snare line was knit and knotted around a small trigger stick before continuing through
the fork of the pole. Halfway below the fork the line was weighted with a 30-pound
rock. The trigger stick was fixed under a convenient knob or protuberance on the up-
right pole, the toggle's weight serving to keep it fixed until an animal entered the snare
and dislodged the stick, whereupon the rock fell to the ground. The weight of the fall-
ing toggle lifted the animal off the earth. In timbered areas lifting-pole snares like those
frequently used for rabbits were also set for ground hog. In fact, the rock toggle appears
to represent an adaptation of the lifting-pole principle to treeless country. Men, boys,
and women built ground hog snares.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River

vehicle. Women as well as men drew the toboggans, a harness for this purpose consisting of one moose-hide line passing around the outside of the arms and around the chest while another cord passed over the top of the head.

Snowshoe types included the round or Louchoux style (said to have been preferable because of its lighter weight) as well as the pointed variety. Function determined the length of these appliances, long shoes being best adapted for a hunter's swift travel in deep snow. Small shoes served well to break trail for a toboggan. In case of emergency a man made temporary snowshoes by bending and lashing a willow pole, which he then filled with heavy babiche line. Children usually employed such crude snowshoes throughout the winter. The customary division of labor appeared, a man constructing the framework while a woman applied the filling. Bone snowshoe needles contained a concave depression at one end that served to push the line between closely laid strands of filling.

In any season the order to travel required men to walk ahead of women, a pattern that allowed them to break trail for the women and children. Blazes consisted of willow and other branches broken in the direction taken. Sometimes men hung moss in the branches of a tree, laid down stones to indicate a course, or cut the trunks of trees with a caribou-horn adz. A single tree felled by fire provided a convenient bridge. Occasionally more complex spans containing a number of poles provided safer means for crossing a stream. The tump line facilitated packing and pack sticks remained unknown. Baby packs consisted of tanned skin padded with moss. In this container the child faced away from the mother. When old enough to leave the moss bag a youngster rode facing the mother on the latter's back supported by a baby strap that was passed around the outside of the arms and tied in front of the woman's breast. Such belts were often decorated with porcupine-quill embroidery. Bark baby carriers were not made.

For communication between traveling groups, the Indians sometimes made use of smoke signals, a single smoke calling attention to a game kill. Also runners might be sent to invite people to the scene of a kill, young men being able to cover 20 miles by running in a single day. Picture writing or drum language were both lacking.

For water transportation the Dease River people relied on rafts, moose-skin boats (which occasionally reached a length of 20 feet), dugouts, and spruce-bark canoes. A raft contained the necessary number of poles lashed to crosspieces with tanned-skin line. Pointing the bow gave the craft greater speed. An earthen fireplace was often situated somewhat forward on a pointed raft, but people invariably spent nights on shore in the course of traveling. Two varieties of spruce-bark canoes may be distinguished, small vessels serving one or two hunters and larger boats for traveling. The bark was sewn to the framework with spruce root line. Decked canoes, sails, or canoes traveling in pairs could not be recalled for the pre-contact period. Men cut paddles from spruce wood. Rounded handles were denied for these implements, the informant claiming that the upper end of the shaft contained a crosspiece on which the canoer fastened his grip. Such crutch-like handles must have resembled the type in use on the Northwest Coast. A ridge was left on the center of the blade, the edges of which might be decorated with notches burned into the wood.

4. Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 MD12 Nahanni MD12

Dease River
Tsetsaut

342 ordinarily reached a diameter of 20 feet and accommodated several families, smaller structures built in this style and housing only one or two families occurred more frequently. Birch-bark and grass-mat buildings were unknown. A Kaska Kaska River man appeared vaguely familiar with the storehouse but would venture no description of its form or construction. Women erected houses and were believed to construct better structures than men. Qualities governing selection of a dwelling site included "hard" (i.e., dry) ground and accessibility to water. Dry wood could be found nearly everywhere. People never constructed the ground of a house site.

[342] 342 While a dwelling woman occupied the area nearest the entry, while a husband had his place toward the rear. Daughters slept near the mother, sons farther back from the entry. Infants rested in skin hammocks suspended over the mothers' sleeping places. Along the Kaska River, at least, babies used hammocks of plaited, split spruce roots lined with skins. Specially constructed foundations or sleeping platforms did not occur. People lived on a carpet of spruce brush and at night covered themselves with robes of grass mattes and ground-hog pelts or plaited rabbit-skin. Grizzly bear robes, because of their size and warmth, provided especially desirable blankets. Some people used pillows made by packing duck or partridge feathers in a soaked skin bag.

343 The sweat house, built for the use of both sexes, was the only type of non-residential structure. Hemispherical in shape and about four feet high it contained a roof opening designed to permit the escape of excess heat and steam. No communal storehouse occurred.

[344] 372 Both sexes showed equal skill in kindling fire by the strike-a-light method.[1] One informant denied the use of fire drills (S) but another man constructed a bow drill 177 which he claimed had been displaced from the culture because of its poorer efficiency compared to the use of flint and pyrites (WT). Boys and girls commonly sought fuel with some assistance from adults. In winter when camp moved women carried fire on glowing pairs 15 or 18 inches long. Fire kept through the night if banked with earth or ashes.

342 *Tsetsaut.* Winter dwellings conformed to the usual two types: conical with a framework of poles and inverted V-shaped. Roofing utilized spruce brush, moss, and soil but never grass thatch. Occasionally a household possessed sufficient skins to cover a conical lodge.

[343] In summer the Indians did not live in houses and only rain impelled them to put up hasty lean-tos. Surprisingly the construction of sweat houses met with denial. In the

[1] A tale collected by Teit tells how Bear's monopoly of the fire stone was broken by a little bird who visited Bear's lodge to warm himself. While picking fire from the Bear the bird broke the latter's hold and flew off with the stone, passing this object to a number of visiting animals. Lest to receive the prize was Fox whose flight to a high mountain enhanced Bear. "Fox broke up the fire-stone on the top of the mountain, and threw the fragments a piece to each tribe. Thus the many tribes all over the earth obtained fire; *and this is why there is fire in the rocks and woods everywhere now.*" As a result of losing fire Bear made a hole in the earth to keep himself warm in winter—the origin of the bear's den! Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 443-444.

It will be recalled that the Upper Liard Indians made fire with the strike-a-light method. The Tlingit (including the Chilkat) used fire drills, including the bow type, as well as percussion methods of fire making. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 303.

La. 19.6.

dwelling people lived on the spruce-bough-carpeted ground and slept under blankets of moose, rabbit skin or stitched ground-hog pelts with tanned-skin pillows stuffed with feathers. The entire lodge assembly provided for and was used in conjunction with a fireplace that grew on birch trees, from which tinder was prepared. Informants mentioned that fire drill bow by one appears to have been relatively recent. Travellers in both summer and winter carried fire on glowing poles, the only type of fire carrier admitted.

Subsistence. From a trapper operating in the South Nahani drainage (called Sunrit or a name[1] was learned that the rock built-ways up the face of a hundred foot precipice that spans a two-thousand-foot valley. It was about eighteen feet by twelve, with a hole running straight up through the rock, which must have been a sort of chimney.[2] Two additional sheep were also reported, "shielded from living rock by human hands."[3] While the construction of rock shelters by moose-rock using aborigines may be questioned, the use of rock shelters seems very plausible and is in fact corroborated by data on sanctuaries obtained as well as by other investigators. Dr. Wesley Bliss of the University of New Mexico scanned the South Nahani country in 1958 and reports no new habitations.[4]

DRESS AND APPEARANCE

Upper Liard Kaska. Camp provided the place where the Kaska women manufactured clothing for her husband, children, and herself. Tanned caribou skin comprised the principal material which she sewed with the aid of sinew line and bone awl-like product with a flat piece of bone held in the palm of her hand. Women used a work board when curing the pelts of marmots and rabbits. Small sewing implements set in an awl were kept in a fish-skin bag. Dehing said woolen for other supplemental tanned-skin garments. These had been tanned by women workers or else been plaited from strips of rabbit, ground-hog, and gopher skins without the aid of a frame. Body parts served for connecting clothing materials.

In summer each sex wore a tanned-skin breech cloth supported from an inner belt, a tailored coat or dress with sleeves reaching to just below the elbow and girdled by a belt of tanned skin or woven porcupine quills, trousers of the same material suspended at the hips from the inner belt, and moccasins. In winter certain adjustments were made to this basic dress, notably through the use of additional garments. The breech cloth became a length of plaited rabbit skin, while over the coat both sexes slipped a parka made of smoked caribou skin or of sheep skin tanned with the hair on. The parka reached to the middle of the thigh and split on both sides of the lower edge were provided with a lacing that could be tightened to insure a snug fit. Parka sleeves sometimes continued

[1] Godsell, *Romance of the Alaska Highway* (1945), 91.

[2] From the Fifty Knife country Field reports that the Indians "years ago lived in open camps sheltered on three sides by throwing up logs and brush." A fire was located in front of them from two which were further covered with caribou skins. (Field, Unpublished manuscript [1944], 1.) In 1883 Schwatka reported for Ayan, a village below Fort Selkirk (Yukon) used that a few Indians had built log cabins "of the most squalid and wretched character, which they leave in winter for the better protection of the cave." There is nothing to suggest that these log houses are aboriginal. The same writer speaks of conical shelters covered with a double layer of skins and banked with snow. Schwatka, *Report on a Military Reconnaissance made in Alaska in 1883* (1885), 191.